

Message Text

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PAGE 01 SALT T 07615 292132Z

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SUBJECT: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 29, 1976
(SALT TWO - 1097)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF SETEMBER 29, 1976.

AT THE SEPTEMBER 22, 1976 MEETING WE CONTINUED
DISCUSSING THE DRAFT AGREEMENT'S PROVISIONS PERTAINING
TO LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED
WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES.

IN THE COURSE OF AN EARLIER EXCHANGE OF VIEWS THE
DIELGATIONS AGREED--EXCEPT FOR CERTAIN DIFFERENCES -- UPON
THE TEXTS OF PARS. 1 AND 2, COMPRISING THE CONTENT OF
ARTICLE V OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, AND UPON THE WORDING OF
THE AGREED STATEMENT REGARDING INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE
REENTRY VEHICLES.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 07615 292132Z

THERE ARE CERTAIN AREAS WHERE THE VIEWS OF THE SIDES

COINCIDE IN CONNECTION WITH AGREEING UPON ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, AS WELL--ON THE DEFINITION OF LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. A FORMULA HAS BEEN AGREED UPON, BASED ON THE COMMON UNDERSTANDING THAT, CONSISTENT WITH THE OTHER AGREED PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT, THIS DEFINITION DEALS WITH LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. THE TEXTS OF BOTH SIDES FOR THE DEFINITION COINCIDE IN THE PROVISION REGARDING REENTRY VEHICLES WHICH ARE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE TO SEPARATE AIM-POINTS ALONG TRAJECTORIES WHICH ARE UNRELATED TO EACH OTHER.

DURING THE WORKING RECESS THE RECORD OF THE DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS AND, IN PARTICULAR, ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, WAS ANALYZED IN DETAIL.

THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST PROVIDE FOR COUNTING WITHIN THE 1,320 AGGREGATE LEVEL PRECISELY MISSILE LAUNCHERS WHICH ARE LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS, EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. AS YOU KNOW, THIS ENSUES QUITE DEFINITELY FROM THE CONTENT OF THE DECISIONS ADOPTED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, WHICH ARE RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974. AS WE UNDERSTANDING IT, THE U.S. SIDE, TOO, BELIEVES THAT ONLY THOSE LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS WHICH ARE IN FACT EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS SHOULD BE COUNTED WITHIN THE 1,320 AGGREGATE NUMERICAL LEVEL BEING ESTABLISHED UNDER ARTICLE V. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING IN PRINCIPLE ON THIS SCORE CONSTITUTES THE POINT OF DEPARTURE FOR COMPLETING REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL ACCEPTABILITY.

TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED HERE, THE USSR DELEGATION, IN THE INTERESTS OF MOVING AHEAD IN THE WORK OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, TABLES A NEW SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, OF THE JOINT DRAFT, IN THE FOLLOWING WORDING:

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 07615 292132Z

"PARAGRAPH 5 OF ARTICLE II

LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES (MIRVS) ARE SUCH LAUNCHERS WHICH HAVE BEEN TESTED FOR LAUNCHING ICBMS AND SLBMS WITH TWO OR MORE REENTRY VEHICLES INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE TO SEPARATE AIM- POINTS ALONG TRAJECTORIES UNRELATED TO EACH OTHER, AND IN WHICH SUCH MISSILES ARE

DEPLOYED."

THE REVISED SOVIET WORDING OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, WHICH WE HAVE TABLED, REFLECTS THE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN THE SIDES ON THE RELEVANT QUESTIONS. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE WISHES EXPRESSED IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS, A PROVISION ON TESTING HAS BEEN INCLUDED IN THE WORDING BEING WORKED OUT FOR ARTICLE II, PAR. 5. WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT THIS WILL CONSTITUTE AN IMPORTANT CONSTRUCTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORK OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE DEFINITION OF LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WE TABLED MAKES IT POSSIBLE TO ARRIVE AT A MUTUALLY AGREED SOLUTION OF THE QUESTIONS RELATING TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, WHICH IS WHOLLY BASED ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974.

THE USSR DELEGATION BELIEVES THAT FURTHER WORK RELATED TO REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, CAN BE ASSIGNED TO THE DRAFTING GROUP.

MR. AMBASSADOR,

THE U.S. DELEGATION'S STATEMENT OF SEPTEMBER 22, 1976 DEALT WITH THE QUESTION OF SOVIET ICBM LAUNCHERS IN THE AREAS OF DERAZHYA AND PERVOMAYSK. IN THIS CONNECTION, A CONSIDERATION WAS EXPRESSED REGARDING INCLUSION OF ALL THE ICBM LAUNCHERS LOCATED IN THESE AREAS AMONG LAUNCHERS OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

THE TRUE SITUATION IS SUCH--AND THE USSR DELEGATION HAS INSTRUCTIONS TO STRESS THIS MOST EMPHATICALLY--THAT IN THESE AREAS THERE ARE LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SALT T 07615 292132Z

MIRVS, AS WELL AS LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS WITHOUT SUCH REENTRY VEHICLES. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE NUMBER OF LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS IN THESE AREAS IS CONSIDERABLY LOWER THAN THE NUMBER OF LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS WITHOUT SUCH REENTRY VEHICLES. THEREFORE, ACCORDING TO THE APPROACH ADOPTED BY THE SIDES, WHICH IS RECORDED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, IN THESE AREAS ONLY LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS ARE SUBJECT TO BE COUNTED WITHIN THE 1,320 NUMBER. AS FOR LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS NOT EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, THEY ARE NOT SUBJECT TO BE COUNTED WITHIN THAT NUMBER.

I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE ONCE AGAIN THAT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT ON THE BASIS OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF

DECEMBER 10, 1974, A SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION OF WHICH MISSILE LAUNCHERS ARE SUBJECT TO LIMITATION WITHIN THE 1,320 AGGREGATE LEVEL REQUIRES AN OBJECTIVE BUSINESSLIKE APPROACH, PRECLUDING ARBITRARY INTERPRETATIONS.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE QUESTIONS UNDER CONSIDERATION, I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO NOTE THAT IN THE EVENT THAT THE U.S. SIDE IS PREPARED TO AGREE UPON THE WORDING OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, ON THE BASIS OF THE NEW REVISED SIDE TODAY, THE SOVIET SIDE COULD CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING AN UNDERSTANDING, IN ADDITION TO THE DEFINITION OF LAUNCHERS OF ECBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, ON AN AGREED STATEMENT WHICH WOULD RECORD PRECISELY WHICH MISSILES OF THE SIDES ON THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT ARE MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS AND WHICH MISSILES WOULD BE INCLUDED AMONG SUCH MISSILES IN THE FUTURE.

IN THIS CONNECTION, IN ORDER TO COMPLETE REACHING AGREEMENT ON QUESTIONS CONCERNING LIMITATIONS ON LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, THE SOVIET SIDE COULD CONSIDER THE SOVIET ICBMS CALLED SS-18S IN THE U.S. TO BE MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. AS FOR THE PROPOSAL, IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE II, PAR. 5, OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, TO SPECIFY THOSE ICBMS AND SLBMS OF THE SIDES, WHICH ARE NOT EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, THE SOVIET SIDE SEES
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 SALT T 07615 292132Z

NO NEED TO DO SO.
THUS, THE APPROACH PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE, BEING FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, MAKES IT POSSIBLE PRECISELY TO DETERMINE WHICH LAUNCHERS OF ECBMS AND SLBMS ARE LAUNCHERS OF ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS AND ARE SUBJECT TO BEING COUNTED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE 1,320 AGGREGATE LEVEL BEING ESTABLISHED. BY ESTABLISHING A CLEAR INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LAUNCHERS AND MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, THIS APPROACH ENSURES ADEQUATE VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH THE RELEVANT LIMITATIONS.

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